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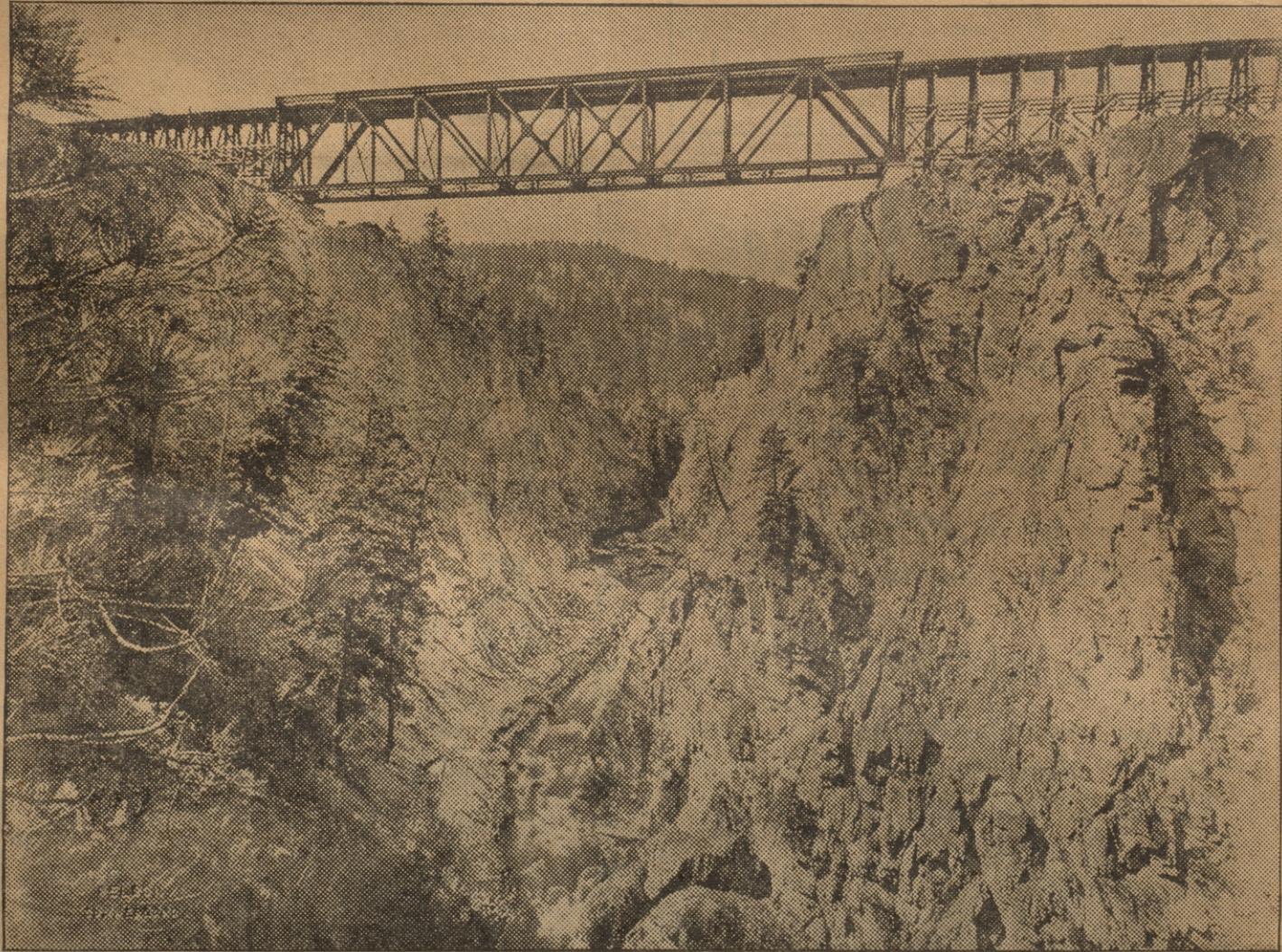
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# A Critical (if Prejudiced) Study of Premier Meighen

By FRANCES FENWICK WILLIAMS

THE Hon. Arthur Meighen was speaking. I was regarding him attentively. A cat may look at a king. Mr. Meighen, if not a king, is ruler of a dominion vaster than some kingdoms. I am believed by many to closely resemble a cat. Thus there was no presumption in my careful survey of the gentleman. But it was evidently noticed for a friend, sitting behind, leaned forward, and whispered:—

“What do you think of him?”

“He reminds me,” I replied, “of Torquemeda.”

“Wh—wh—what?”

“Modified by touches of Pecksniff,” I continued, unmoved by her horror. “Well, what did you ask me for then if you didn’t want to know what I thought?”

“Bu—b—but to say that Mr. Meighen is like Torquemeda!”

“He is not exactly like Torquemeda,” I replied regretfully. “What a pity he isn’t! How simple life would be if the world were only inhabited by saints and villains—if black were only black and white were only white. As it is we have black streaked with white, and white streaked with black, and pale grey and dark grey and —”

“What is Mr. Meighen?”

“Either black streaked with white or white streaked with black—I haven’t quite decided which. In any case, not grey, not neutral—which is a distinction in itself.”

“But what do you really think of him?”

“I don’t know. If he were only pure spirits of Torquemeda, undiluted, I should know what to think—the Pecksniff motif, re-appearing at intervals, confuses my judgment.”

“You are mixing your metaphors,” said my friend angrily.

“And Mr. Meighen,” I sighed, “is mixing us. What a pity that so brilliant a man should persistently under-rate the intelligence of his audiences.”

“Oh, then you do admire him!”

“Tremendously. I also admire Cotton Mather and Catherine the Great—who, by the way, are much alike in essentials. But I cannot say that I really approve of them and I turn cold with horror at the thought of either one running Canada!”

“I wonder,” rejoined my friend, getting red and angry, “that you dare to speak in such a way of the Premier of Canada.”

“Oh, it is not an indictable offence to criticize Mr. Meighen—yet!” I reminded her. “I have a feeling that it may be before long, but it isn’t yet. Please don’t talk—I want to listen to him.”

“I wonder that you want to listen if you think he is so dreadful.”

## The Driver and the Donkeys

“But I don’t think he is dreadful. I told you before that I rather admired him. In a world of dumb driven cattle it does one good to see a driver. In a herd of donkeys an intelligent donkey-boy with a goad is a cheering sight.”

“Then you didn’t mean those horrid things you said?”

My friend is a charming person to converse with. I eyed her solemnly.

“When the Eternal Saki from his Bowl poured forth yonder Bubble”—

“Oh, do drop the Rubaiyat and talk sense!”

“Very good. When the Great Alchemist compounded yonder Pill he made it up of two parts Torquemeda to one part Pecksniff. Result: Meighen!” Then I laughed. I always enjoy my own wit which is fortunate as everyone does not.

Apparently my friend did not for she relapsed into silence, muttering something under her breath, which it is perhaps as well I did not catch. I smiled cheerfully at her and resumed my scrutiny of the new Premier.

I was interested in seeing and hearing Mr. Meighen. For some time past I have believed that Mr. Meighen must be Premier of Canada. It was his obvious destiny. Cataclysmic tides are raging. Whenever I have watched the august Government of Canada, like a

bag of rats suddenly plunged into a whirlpool, swimming frantically round and round in circles, and getting nowhere, there also have I perceived the Hon. Mr. Meighen, making perfectly intelligent though usually unscrupulous decisions, and acting upon them like a Spartan. Time and time again has this parliamentarian proved his right to be considered the brains and backbone of the Conservative Party.

## One of the Ablest of Men

Moreover, developments in Canada since the war have led me to believe Mr. Meighen to be, not only one of the ablest men in Canada, but also one of the most dangerous. I shall not state my reasons for thinking this—just now—because I am particularly fond of fresh air and freedom. But thought is one of the few thinks yet untaxed in Canada. I have my thoughts. Suffice it to say at present that I made a special effort to attend Mr. Meighen’s meeting.

I am always interested in the backs of people’s minds. People do things for such different reasons. Being a pure pagan myself, a lover of sun and fresh air, the dark and tortuous wanderings of the Puritan mind are almost inconceivable to me. I can quite understand and sympathize with the savage who roasts a man alive because he does not like him and wants to hear him scream. But I utterly fail to understand the Puritan who roasts the man alive for the good of his soul. However, a careful study of Mr. Meighen’s face and head convinced me that our new Premier belongs to that type which has played such an important and at times such an appalling part in history—the Puritan type. Torquemeda was a Puritan, as truly as was Cotton Mather. And Mr. Meighen reminded me strongly of Torquemeda. In certain lights he was the Spanish Inquisitor incarnate. Cool, polished, self-restrained, intellectual, and forceful, one could see him—without heat and without rancour—condemning men who differed from him. Of course there are important differences. Torquemeda would think in terms of rack and thumbscrew where Meighen—modified by these degenerate times—would merely think in terms of arrest and deportation. But the essential likeness is there—the Puritan belief, directly inherited from the simple-minded savage—that what he thinks must be right because he thinks it. Cotton Mather condemning witches to be burnt to death because they were unlike himself was a lineal spiritual descendant of Kipling’s Cave-Man slaying a neighbour because he made some new kinds of scratches on a stone, and then remarking genially:—

“I am glad that he is dead

For I know that I am right and he was wrong.”

## Disagreement with the Premier’s Policies

This atavistic method of disposing of enemies is one which many of our politicians to-day seem to favour. It has been tried very frequently in history and always with disastrous results. You see, it is impractical as well as unscientific. One can’t imprison everybody who prefers Plato’s theories to Meighen’s. Moreover, if to disagree with our Premier’s policies is to qualify for jail it would be possible to present that potentate with a long list of thoroughly deserving candidates for incarceration. Modesty forbids me to mention whose name should head the list! However—I withdraw Pecksniff!

True, there was a time when I suspected Mr. Meighen of being a hypocrite. That time has passed. Mr. Meighen is as sincere as Luther. Whenever I am tempted to believe that persons of the Puritan type are conscious hypocrites I recall Luther’s remark about the witches who were supposed to have turned the Luthers’ cream sour—“I would have no compassion on such creatures. I would burn them all!”

Luther was neither a bad man, a stupid man, nor a hypocritical man. He was, for his times, a remarkably able, courageous, and honest man. But he was a Puritan. Puritans, though I do not like them, have played an important part in the history of the world, and will continue to play it. A pagan who is moved by a thousand different things—by sun and water and music and beauty and laughter—never has the steadfast purpose and the iron concentration of the Puritan. He who has the faculty of seeing life whole never sees life steadily. He who looks at life perpetually through other men’s eyes

knows more of life and of human beings than the man of action ever can—but achieves less. The Meighens have their uses. But —

To return to Mr. Meighen's address—it was disappointing.

### Simple Arguments for Simple Minds

True, it was fluent, graceful, couched in good idiomatic English, and characterized by considerable ease of delivery. But it resembled the discourse of the Lord Protector—I forget his name!—whom Katharine Parr married when death had mercifully removed Henry the Eighth. "Sonorous, but somewhat lacking in matter." Mr. Meighen did not, on this occasion—I shall not mention the occasion—give us of his best. "Simple arguments for simple minds" appeared to be his motto.

Without doubt it is a good motto—when one is dealing with simple minds. But Mr. Meighen is capable of intellectual flights of no mean order, and I regretted that his address fell so far short of—for instance—his addresses on the question of Government Ownership of Railways. I distinctly remember reading a résumé of one of these and putting it down with the muttered comment—"Tut, tut! the man has brains!"

"Who's that that has brains?" asked somebody, overhearing.

"The Hon. Arthur Meighen."

"Of course he has brains. Who ever doubted it?"

Well, I doubt everything of which which I do not receive concrete proof. And if others would follow my example I think we should make greater progress than we are doing at present. On this occasion to which I refer, the intelligent audience sat like a flock of geese with open bills, swallowing avidly every choice morsel of bunk which Mr. Meighen chucked skilfully down. It was enough to make a man vow to foreswear brains for the future and devote himself wholly to platitudes—really, the man deserves credit for keeping his mental weapons burnished and sharpened when he needs them so seldom.

Which reminds me: an unhappy person whom I once encountered in Hyde Park earnestly desired a revolution. When I said to him:

"What do you need of revolution, you can elect your own candidates to Parliament; why don't you make them understand before you send them there what you want them to do for you?"—he moaned in reply:

"We does. We does. But the atmosphere's that bad they get ruined in a week!"

### The Bad Atmosphere of Parliament

Mr. Meighen, despite his long sojourn in the bad atmosphere of Parliament, remains astute and faithful to the interests of the class which he represents. Canada is at present, roughly speaking, owned by from ten to twenty per cent of the population; the rest of us are hired men variously remunerated. Mr. Meighen corresponds to General Manager of the concern. Our autocracy is, of course, modified by a franchise; but there is and can be little equality between the men who hold the necessities of life, and the man who must come, hat in hand, begging for leave to earn them. Mr. Meighen is (I think) conscientious and able representative of these, and strong enough to deal firmly with any out-breaks of free speech or similar impudence from the hired men. In other words, as I said before, he is the brains and backbone of the Conservative Party.

But you may object, Mr. Meighen is the leader, not of the Conservative, but of the National Liberal and Conservative Party of Canada. I shall let you into a little secret. Whenever I hear of the N.L.A.C. P. I am reminded of Papa dressing up as Santa Claus in order to amuse the children. The mask is a new one; but above the pasteboard cheeks and beneath the horse-hair locks peep forth the intelligent eyes of Papa. Papa, keeping the children from thinking too hard by manipulating dazzling rattles!

Not the youngest and most innocent infant in the room believes that Santa is Santa. Papa is the only person who believes himself to be disguised.

Personally, I may as well state first as last that I regard the Conservative and Liberal parties (whether disguised as Santa Claus or as the Apostle Paul) as simply the right and left wings of a bird of prey. I see little to choose between Mr. Meighen's and Mr. King's policies except that, of the two, Mr. Meighen's are a trifle more honest. The truth is that we have at present only one great party in Canada—the Conservative Party. Roughly speaking, Mr. Meighen's followers constitute the right, Mr. King's the left, of this party—this bird of prey.

### The Ethics of the Jungle

Do not misunderstand this statement. A bird of prey which succeeds in preying is a creditable creation—one which has proved its right to survive. If we are always to be governed by natural law—if our ethics are always to be the ethics of the jungle, the ethics of tooth and claw—then our great historic party, the Liberal-Conser-

ative Party is biologically speaking, justified. In any case it is a dignified and stable party, with much to recommend it. (So too has a hawk; but one must not interview the chickens too closely!)

I am inclined to think, however, that Christianity is not the sentimental myth that most of us consider it. I agree with Phillips Brooks that we cannot say that Christianity is a failure because it has never been tried. I believe that we need not be governed entirely by the ethics of the jungle and—you may think me visionary—but I should really like to see Christianity tried for a while in our civilization—not all at once, you understand, but just a little at a time until we get accustomed to it.

At present Christianity is a sort of respectable Sunday-school religion having no bearing on a world whose wheels are turned by the motives of self-interest. To me nothing is more depressing than a congregation howling hymns of praise once a week to a Deity whose directions they deliberately set at naught during the remaining six days. The only logical way of proving that one believes in Christianity is to re-organize civilization to conform with its doctrines. So long as we do not do that, so long do we proclaim ourselves hypocrites and cheats, conscious and unconscious.

Prof. Leacock says somewhere that if efficiency is to be the test of merit we should present the successful burglar with a silver-plated jimmy. Well don't we? And if we are atavistic throw-backs—ants pilfering from ants—sparrows abstracting other sparrows' crumbs—then the burglar ought to be respected, and honoured. And so ought our political parties.

Possibly we are still in the "ape-and-tiger" stage, and the present dear old political mystery dance (which keeps the children amused while Noah Claypole abstracts their pennies unbeknownst!) is justified. Mr. Meighen's agility and grace in this particular dance deserve a passing word of praise. But I cannot really admire his dexterity—I don't like what lies behind it.

### Why Not Try a Little Christianity?

You see, to anyone holding the heretical view that a little Christianity injected into government would not really hurt it, Mr. Meighen appears as something of a menace. He is capable, like Cotton Mather and Torquemada, of doing the most audacious things, and, like the same gentlemen, he is capable of eating a good dinner afterwards and conducting family prayers. Mr. Meighen could not be anything but a Presbyterian. He is a lineal spiritual descendant of that John Knox, who, when Mary of Scotland protested that she was acting according to her conscience, sternly answered, "Conscience, madam, must be educated!" What John meant was that Mary's conscience must be educated until it resembled his.

However—I suspect that the world is going to make a feeble attempt to assimilate a bit of Christianity. Presbyterians and Anglicans alike will, I know, protest loudly against such an innovation; but such a wave of religious feeling has overswept and is oversweeping the world that, as Bernard Shaw says, it has invaded the very Church of England itself—I personally know of clergymen who are not unaffected by it! (Of course, being an Anglican, I cannot speak for the Presbyterian Church—but, doubtless, Mr. Meighen will know if anyone cares to ask him!)

Or, perhaps, I am wrong. Perhaps Christ will continue to be crucified in our civilization for another thousand years or so. The present inclination toward Christianity may be the merest flash in the pan. Who can say?

Certain it is that the human world, at present, like the brute world, is one vast slaughter-house—differing only in that the abyss of calculated savagery underneath is covered by a thin layer of maudlin sentimentality on top. But though the spirit of the jungle still strives within us so also does the spirit of the white humanitarian, Christ. The War, like a sword of flame, has split in two the dividing camps—the men and women of the past and the men and women of the future stand opposed; and we do not know as yet what the outcome of it all will be.

However, as regards our present Premier:—Let me commit myself to a definite statement and a benevolent assumption. Mr. Meighen at present heads the forces of reaction. But it is by no means certain that he will continue to head them. Development or retrogression is the fate of all living things. Mr. Meighen may develop. He may surprise us all some day by acting according to the dictates of an awakened conscience. The thing is not impossible. One need never despair of the owner of that rare appendage, a mind.

On the other hand—Mr. Meighen may retrograde.

It is disconcerting to face this possibility; but we must not shrink from contemplating it, nevertheless, Mr. Meighen may retrograde.

What shall we see in that day?

Alas! in moments of depression I see a disconcerted and anxious Canada, suffering from too much King Stork wailing loudly—but vainly—for the return of King Log. I see—but halt! the picture is too black for contemplation. Like Macbeth, "I'll look no more!"

## The Social Background

(By MISS HELEN R. V. REID whose work in connection with the Canadian Patriotic Fund and many social welfare movements is so well known).

THE question of housing bears heavily on our ex-soldier population as it does on the whole of Canada. There are One Hundred and Twenty Thousand (120,000) houses in the City of Montreal to accommodate a population of approximately Six Hundred and Forty Thousand (640,000) people. (Suburbs not included), (1918 City Hall Report).

Of the 532 families bringing their 1,000 children to the Patriotic Fund Health Clinic during the year, we have no records from 30 as to the number of Rooms or Houses rented. Of the remaining 502 families we find the largest number, the median, using 4 rooms, the average being 4 plus for all the families.

The greatest number of rooms in any house was 9 and the lowest 1.

Thirty-one families were living in 1 room each, a total of 102 people; 14 of these families had 3 members, 6 had 4 and 4 had 5 persons living in one room. Nineteen families were living in 2 rooms, a total of 82 persons. Two of these families had each 8 members, one had 6 persons and five had 5 in each family.

We had 40 families with 7 members; 26 with eight; 14 with 9; 6 with 10; 3 with 11; 1 with 12; and 1 with 14. The family of 14 lived in 6 rooms. The family of 12 and two families of 11 lived each in 7 rooms, one family of 11 living in 5 rooms.

### Density of Population.

We are told by our City Sanitary Engineer that of the 120,000 houses in Montreal only 12.5 per cent. are occupied by their owners.

In one district (Notre Dame de Grace) 37 per cent. of the owners occupy their houses.

The average density of the city population is 21 inhabitants to the acre. In St. Louis ward we have a density of 141 persons per acre.

We find that there are in Montreal proper 5.3 persons per house. In 1907 there were 3.7—New York has a density of 15.6 persons per house, Boston 9.2, Cambridge 7.2 and Los Angeles 4.6.

While overcrowding bears an important relation to mortality and morbidity rates, other casual factors, such as poverty and ignorance, contribute even more directly to community death and disease.

In this connection we note that, despite its scattered population, Ahuntsic-Bordeaux ward with only three persons to the acre has the largest mortality in the city—20.2, while St. Louis Ward, the most densely populated, has a mortality of 12.5.

The story of over-crowding, however, emphasizes the health and moral handicaps under which so many of our people are living.

Even with a comfortable income, many of our soldier's families have suffered on this account more or less consciously through a certain

lowering of health habits and of standards of decency which is bound to tell in time on the growing and receptive children in the home.

Only 9 of the 532 families owned their homes. Uncertain industrial conditions with a moving industrial population, the unsettling effect of the war, together with the cost of living may be responsible for this, but there does not seem to be the same attachment to the owned home here as there is in the Old Country, in spite of the fact that the largest number of our children were registered as children of English and Scottish parentage.

### Payment of Rent.

Forty-two families gave no record of rent; five lived rent free in exchange for services rendered. Of the remaining 485 families we get an average monthly rental of \$12.82 with a median of \$10.00 in the first group of families which rose steadily through each succeeding group of 100 children, till for the tenth group we registered an average rental of \$14.20 with a median of \$15.00.

The lowest rent was \$3.50 (for one room) and the highest \$40.00.

These are all rather below the average though ever-increasing rentals quoted in the "Labor Gazette" during the year 1919-20, when these families brought their children to clinic. It must be remembered, however, that the average accommodation quoted in the "Labor Gazette" is a six-roomed house, while the average accommodation for our families was 4 plus rooms. In very many instances, the neighborhood and condition of the houses left much to be desired in the way of light, back yards, household conveniences, etc., all of which bear directly on the health, social, mental and physical, of the children.

### The Monthly Income.

One hundred and twenty-two of the families did not report their income. Of the remaining 410 families we have a record of as low as \$10.00 monthly and as high as \$175.00. The income of this group of ex-soldiers' families was a most uncertain quality, due largely and directly to the effects of the war.

Some of the ex-soldiers and widows were on pension, total or part, according to the degree of disability or to death due to service; some of them were on pay and allowances, if the ex-soldiers were taking treatment or training under the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Department.

Other men, who were getting treatment, were not on pay and allowances as the disability from which they suffered could not be traced to war service; the Patriotic Fund, in these cases, carried the families on a generous budget.

Many ex-soldiers, out of work, were doing odd jobs and not earning a living wage for themselves or for their families. Many of the women did not know what their men earned.

The uncertainty of the times, war restlessness, strikes, lockouts, poor home management, loafing, illness and mental defect were all immediate causes for the irregularity or absence of income in many of the homes, the economic factor bearing directly on the health of the whole family and particularly on that of the children.

If there was not enough food to go round, the wage earner would, more often than not, get first share in order to keep up his strength, and the children would go hungry, or mothers would take work outside the home with the consequent danger of neglect of the children.

One need only refer to the startling studies made by the Child Labor Bureau of Washington to learn in a convincing way how infantile mortality increases as the income goes down, and as women go out to work to supplement the insufficient earnings of the home. Continued low incomes furnish a sure index of a high death rate and of lowered vitality and increased ill health particularly among children.

### Unemployment Insurance.

Schemes for Unemployment Insurance, some forms of which are in force in a few private business concerns, in many Labor Unions and as Government measures in twelve European countries are likely up definitely with the social and industrial changes now going on in Canada and in the rest of the world.

The Canadian Governments—Federal, Provincial or local—have not formulated any plans as yet covering insurance for ill health and old age, nor have they made any attempt to cope with the problem of unemployment, which promises to assume acute proportions, both seasonal and cyclical, in the not distant future.

It is true that a very splendid Federal Insurance provision is now working for all ex-soldiers and their dependents, that our Canadian Pensions are the most generous in the world, and that the placement systems of both the Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment Department and the Employment Service of Canada are admirable in their plan and efficiency—but these aids, to minimize the effects of the war and the pres-

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ent lack of work, do not actually meet the problem of unemployment, and no placement system can cover the demands for work when factories close down and hands are turned off by the hundreds and thousands and no work is to be had.

General industrial depression reacts directly on the health of the people and particularly on that of the children.

If we are ever to be an A.1 nation, physically, we must take speedy measures, governmental and voluntary, to prevent our deteriorating into a Class-3 population. Unemployment, for nine-tenths of the people, spells poverty. Poverty is father of ill health. Poverty and ill health in their vicious circle mean national unrest and danger.

### Organized Effort.

The present situation offers an opportunity to lay the foundations for the establishment of the means for handling the problem of unemployment not only in the present but in the future.

We can no longer afford to take for granted the seasonal and cyclical recurrences of business depression.

We should make organized effort to anticipate these conditions, and to minimize by every sound social means in our power the hardship, suffering and ill health they inevitably cause.

In this way only can we surely build the health foundation on which the wealth and happiness of our people ultimately depend.

Grand Trunk Railway shops at Stratford closed down on March 24 for ten days.

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## Railroad Gauntlets

FIT WELL  
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SOLD EVERYWHERE

# A Square Deal For Canadian Babies



Do you know that the infant mortality rate of a city is becoming the index of the prosperity of a city? This is a fact.

Do you know that about 50 per cent. of the deaths of Canada's babies is preventable? In other words these babies die because of the ignorance of mothers, poor housing, and poverty. Thousands are maimed for life by diseases. This should interest you.

What is an infant mortality rate? The term "infant mortality rate" or "baby death rate" means the relation between the number of babies under one year of age who die in one calendar year to the number of babies born alive during the year. This is usually expressed as the number of deaths of babies which occur per 1,000 live births.

Each country, each city or town, and each rural community should know first of all what its infant death rate is, and then should do its utmost to lower this rate by all methods that have proved successful elsewhere.

About one-fifth of the deaths occurring each year at all ages are of children under one year.

#### Causes of a High Rate.

The fundamental causes of infantile mortality are mainly the result of three conditions—poverty, ignorance and neglect.

There are three groups of diseases which together cause about

**I AM THE BABY.**

I am the Baby.  
I am the youngest Institution in the World—and the oldest. The Earth is my Heritage when I came into being, and when I go, I leave it to the next Generation of Babies.  
My mission is to leave the Earth a better place than I found it. With my million little Brothers and Sisters I can do this, if the World does not impose too many handicaps.  
Now I need Pure Milk and Fresh Air and Play.  
When I am older I shall need good Schools in which to learn the Lessons of Life.  
I want to live, laugh, love, work, play.  
I want to hear good music, read good books, see beautiful pictures.  
I want to build Houses and Roads and Railroads and Cities.  
I want to walk in the woods, bathe in the waters, and play in the snow.  
I am Yesterday. To-day, and To-morrow.  
If you will make my way easy now, I will help you when I grow up.  
I am your hope—I AM THE BABY.

three-fourths of all the deaths among babies. These three groups are:

1. Digestive diseases, which cause most of the deaths of babies in summer. Bottle-fed babies are most often affected.

2. Diseases of the lungs.

3. Diseases due to conditions affecting the child before or after birth.

Some of the causes of these diseases are:

1. Of the digestive diseases: Lack of breast feeding, improper feeding, impure milk, carelessness of mothers, hot weather, overcrowding, bad housing and bad sanitary conditions.

2. Of the diseases of the lungs: Infections, bad air.

3. Of the diseases due to conditions affecting the child before birth: Sickness in the parents, overwork of the mother, improper care before or at birth.

There is a vast and unmeasured loss of infant life due solely to individual and civic neglect. The economic and industrial significance of such a loss in the general scheme of social well-being is beginning to be realized. It was once thought that a high infant death rate indicated a greater degree of vigor in the survivors. Now it is agreed that the conditions which destroy so many of the youngest lives of the community must also result in crippling and

maiming many others and must react unfavorably upon the health of the entire community.

Infant mortality is the most sensitive index we possess of social welfare and of sanitary administration.

#### Prevention of Deaths.

We are told that the deaths of many babies under one year may be prevented. This can best be accomplished by the education of the mother in the care of herself and her baby; the strongest weapon for fighting infant mortality. The great group of deaths of babies from causes acting before, or at birth, can only be prevented by intelligent care by the mother of herself before birth; protection of the mother by her husband from overwork and skillful care at the time of confinement.

At the same time it is obvious that even the care given the baby by its mother often must be offset by the evils resulting from an income insufficient for the family's needs, since a low income frequently must involve undesirable housing accommodations, an overworked mother, insufficient nourishment for mother and child and lack of competent medical advice. Generally speaking the lower the income the higher the rate of infant mortality. Babies born in the homes of unskilled workers where earnings are

small face greater hazards than those in more fortunate circumstances.

#### Public Responsibility.

Community action can remedy many conditions dangerous to the lives of infants. The purity of the water, the milk, and the food supply; the cleanliness of streets and alleys; the disposal of waste—all these are within the control of the community. But the public responsibility does not end merely in remedying physical conditions. There is wisdom in the growing tendency on the part of municipalities to accept responsibility for furnishing information and instruction to its citizens through visiting nurses, baby-welfare and consultation stations, and the distribution of literature for the guidance of others. Work for infant welfare is coming to be regarded as more than a philanthropy or an expression of goodwill. It is a profoundly important public concern which tests the public spirit and the democracy of the modernness of a city's administration than the proportion of its income which is assigned to the protection of infancy and childhood, though it is fair to remind ourselves that a large amount of invaluable volunteer work is going on in many cities whose budgets show no item for this purpose. But, whether by public or private effort, the community must increasingly ac-

#### THE WELFARE OF POSTERITY.

THE same conditions which cause the death of 13 out of 100 babies born throughout the civilized world, on the broadest of averages, leave more or less permanent stamps on perhaps two or three times as many more babies who somehow manage to crawl over the infant dead line, many of them will be the fathers and mothers of the next generation. The problem of infant mortality, therefore, is far more than one as to means of decreasing the number of infant deaths. Its scope is world-wide, and on its partial solution, at least, depends the welfare of posterity. The call for action on such a problem may fairly be termed urgent. — E. B. Phelps.

#### A NATIONAL DISASTER.

IT was formerly believed that the rate of mortality among children who had not reached the first anniversary of their birth was a wise dispensation of nature, intended to prevent children with a weak constitution becoming too plentiful. To-day we know that a great infant mortality is a national disaster — on the one hand, because numerous economic values are created without purpose and prematurely destroyed, and, on the other, because the causes of the high rate of infant mortality affect the powers of resistance of the other infants and weaken the strength of the nation in its next generation. — Prof. Dietrich.

cept its share of responsibility for the healthfulness of individual dwelling places and their fitness for the rearing of children.

Every child has the right to belong to the aristocracy of health and intelligence; to be born with a good mind and a sound body.

Every child has the right to be loved; to have his individuality respected; to be trained wisely in body, mind and soul; to be protected from disease, from evil influences, and evil persons; and to have a fair chance in life.

Every child has the right to be surrounded by that environment in which he may develop to the fullest his abilities and talents.

The child is the asset of the State; he owes the State nothing.

Let us look after ourselves! Let us look after the child!

#### THE FUTURE.

"Give me intelligent motherhood and good pre-natal conditions, and I have no doubt of the future of this or any other nation."—John Burns.

#### THE BABY.

What does the baby ask of you,  
Passer-by in the street?  
Only the gift of a thought from  
you,  
Only the gift of a look from you  
At the road before his feet  
Is it smooth and clean and fit, say  
you.  
Fit for a baby's feet?

What does the baby say to you,  
You who pay no heed?  
He begs for the right of living with  
you,  
Begs for the help of a hand from  
you—  
What he begs is but his need.  
Will the hand and the help be ready  
from you,  
Serving the baby's need?

What does the baby give to you,  
Men whose vision is dim?  
He gives you sun to lighten your  
way;  
He gives you hope for each dark  
day;  
Have you paid your debt to him?  
Have you smoother his path and  
guided his way,  
Guarded and shielded him?

What does the baby keep for you—  
You whose heart is vast?  
He keeps faith and hope and joy for  
you,  
Comfort and love and home for you  
In his tiny hand held fast.  
Are you earning the gifts he is keep-  
ing for you,  
You who are going past?

A. Moore, M.P.P. and C. Palmer, M.P.P., for Springfield and Dauphin, Manitoba, respectively, two of the employees of the Canadian National Railway, who were dismissed from the service because of their activity in politics, have been reinstated in their former positions, with back pay dating from November.

## INFANT MORTALITY THERMOMETER

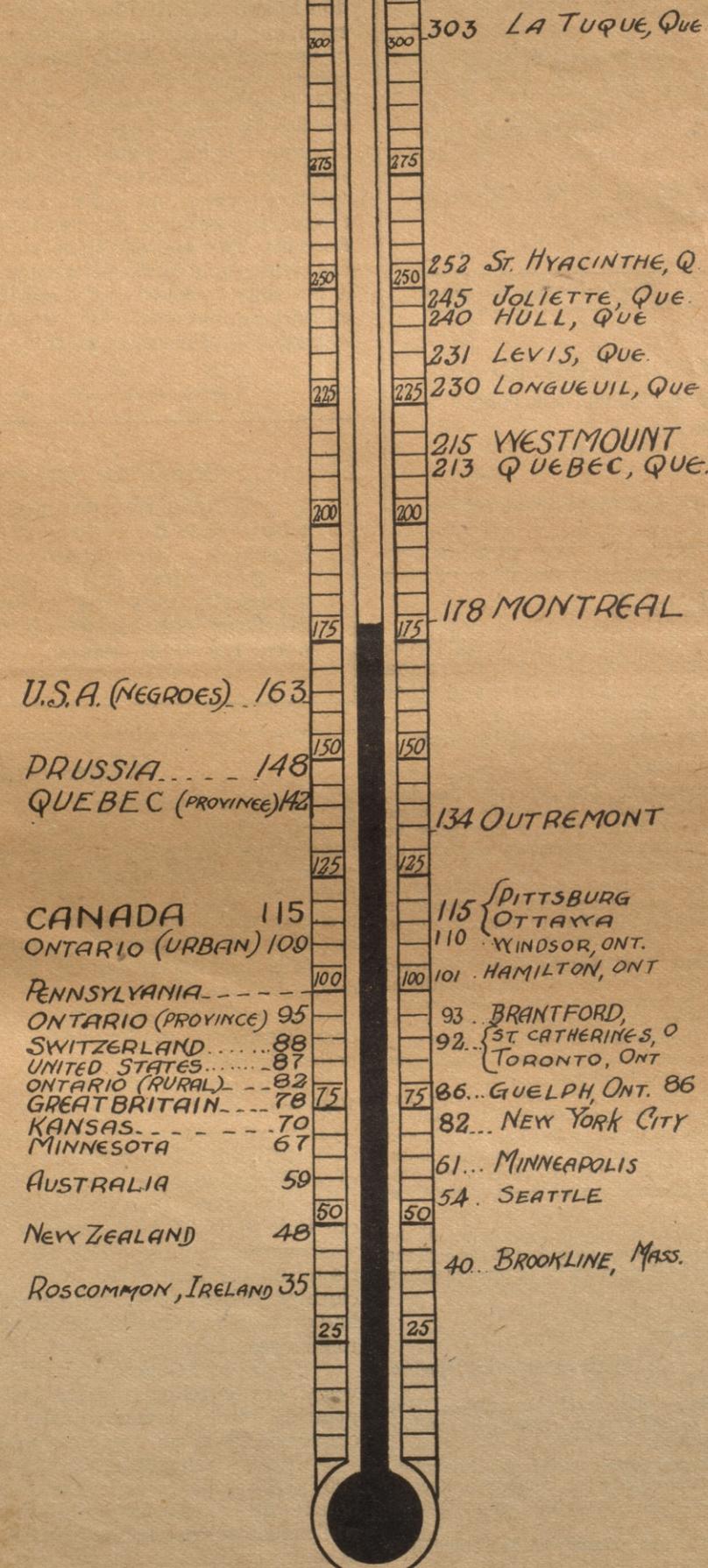
SHOWING GRAPHICALLY THE NUMBER OF DEATHS  
UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE PER 1,000 BORN

"A"

ACCORDING TO PREVAL-  
ENCE IN NATIONS, STATES  
AND PROVINCES.

"B"

ACCORDING TO PREVAL-  
ENCE IN CITIES IN  
CANADA AND U.S.

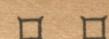


THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE IS THE BEST INDEX  
OF THE SOCIAL AND MORAL CONSCIENCE AND SANITARY  
STATUS OF A GIVEN COMMUNITY OR NATION.

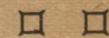
THE RICHEST THING IN THE  
WORLD IS NOT ICE CREAM —  
BUT THE RICHEST ICE CREAM  
IS PREPARED BY OUR SPECIAL-  
ISTS — IT IS WITHIN REACH OF  
EVERY LOVER OF DELICATE  
DISHES. FOR INSTANCE A PINT  
OF LUSCIOUS "CITY DAIRY  
ORANGE" WILL PLEASE AND  
SATISFY.

AGENCIES  
ALL OVER

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WEEKLY

The Official Organ of  
The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada

ORGANIZED SEPTEMBER 1916

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April, 1919.

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GEORGE PIERCE, Editor

KENNEDY CRONE, Managing Editor

## Stepping Backwards

**A**N editorial in the issue of February 5, entitled "Stepping Backwards," made a criticism of the Social Service Council of Canada which was based on a report appearing in the Gazette and other newspapers. A correspondent claims that the press report was distorted, and it would be interesting to have the press's explanation.

Following are extracts from the Railroader's editorial:

The Gazette of January 28 says that at London, Ont., the previous day, "the more radical section of the Social Service Council of Canada met some opposition at the closing session of the annual convention when, in discussing the report of the committee on industrial life and immigration, exception was taken by a woman speaker to the assumption that the workers had more right to consideration than the employers. Among points which it was proposed the Council should favor as matters for immediate legislative attention was mentioned the protection of the right of workers to free speech, free assembly, freedom to organize and to send whom they wished to represent them."

"Mrs. Laing, representing the local Council of Women, Toronto, urged that the unorganized worker had an equal right to the support and sympathy of the Council, and in this she was supported by Archdeacon Inglis, of Toronto, who contended that the employer should be equally considered by the social workers. Canon Vernon and Rev. Ernest Thomas argued that they were only proposing to give labor rights that had long been enjoyed by capital. Finally, the paragraph was amended in such a way that it was rendered non-committal."

Organized labor had been coming to the notion during the past few years that the Social Service Council, which is largely made of representatives of non-Roman Catholic churches and various welfare organizations such as the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., was a serious student of labor affairs, and being so, had inevitably seen the wisdom and justice of the elementary principles of the labor movement, even if it still had an open mind on some of the manners of working out these principles. . . .

Perhaps the Gazette report on account of its brevity did not cover all the important angles of the discussion. On the face of things, as looked at through the report, the Council took a jump backwards that will puzzle a lot of persons within and without church and social welfare circles.

The letter of the correspondent reads:—

St. Matthew's Rectory, Quebec.

In reference to your editorial in a recent issue—"Stepping Backwards"—I have pleasure in stating that at the Social Service Council's annual meeting in London, Ont., Jan. 25, 1921, the following motion was passed:

"The right of both employers and employees to free speech, free assembly, freedom to organize and to be represented by whom they will, must be protected. These are elementary democratic rights." (Carried. See Social Welfare, March, 1921, page 158).

It is unfortunate that the press distorted the account and put the Council in a bad light before the public.

I may add that the Council at the same session protested strongly against the efforts to distort or suppress reports of important events in the history of social progress.

It appears that it is the same old story of the big interests controlling the press despatches.

(REV.) A. R. KELLEY.

## The Pursuit of Justice

A GREAT international hunt is in progress, the hare being one Bergdoll, a youth who, not being convinced that the sanguinary cockpit of Europe was within the confines of the Monroe doctrine, refused to respond to the call to arms. Issues of tremendously more importance than the original call to arms are now confronting the nations of the world; but the Government of the United States is stretching out its arm over the ocean to seize Bergdoll in Germany, and is seeking to persuade England and Canada to join in the pursuit. It is a wonderful sight, this vengeance of the Government of the land of Liberty. Within the great Republic are troubles of many sorts, labor strife, railroad problems, unemployment, social perplexities, poverty; but all these are as nothing when compared with the throwing out of a lasso to catch this young millionaire who dared to refuse to don khaki. His brother is already sentenced to jail for a five years' term, and the Government are anxious to give him company. Many of us were ready during the war to support and foster the patriotic spirit so long as the crisis faced us; but it never entered our minds at that time that a Government could not do as an individual does when the fight is over—forgive and forget. That the state as an aggregate of human beings would keep up this unforgiving, this bloodthirsty spirit, is revolting to the thinking mind. The continuation of this spirit of persecution is the surest promise of the maintenance of militarism, junkerism and Potsdam-ism. And Sir Philip Gibbs has told America that another little war is looming up. The United States has refused to assume any responsibility in the League of Nations, but it is evidently sharing the spirit of Europe in acquiring a taste for militaristic methods. One would like to see this case brought to the attention of President Harding.

—Caedmon.

(From the Ottawa Citizen, March 25)

"I have not yet met one railway man who will admit that he should cut down his wages," says Mr. Murdock. How strange!—Montreal Gazette.

And what is perhaps stranger still, we haven't personally met any railway commissioner or cabinet minister who will admit the same thing in connection with his own wages.

## Wages and Living Costs

IT would be interesting to note what the advocates of wage-cutting (somebody's else's wages) say about the statement issued as a supplement to the March number of the Labor Gazette, showing that the increase in the cost of living was greater than the increase in wages from 1913 to 1920. That is, if they say anything; there has so far been a silence which might seem to indicate a wish to ignore facts that do not fit in with wage-cutting propaganda and plans.

The statement, covering increased wages, is a most exhaustive one, consisting, for the most part, of tables showing the advances in the various trades and occupations under review. The rates of wages are compiled from statistics obtained in thirteen Canadian cities scattered across the Dominion.

An increase of 90.3 per cent. in the hourly rates of wages paid in 1920 over the 1913 scale is shown by the statement. As far as the weekly scale of wages is concerned the increase is only 79.3 per cent. over 1913, but it is pointed out that there was a decrease in the number of working hours per week, which is responsible for the discrepancy in the two rates. In regard to the cost of living the department points out that the average increase in all items for a family when the peak was reached in July, 1920, was 101 per cent. over 1913. Food had risen 130 per cent. over 1913; fuel 91 per cent., rent 34 per cent., clothing 160 per cent., and sundries 90 per cent. By December food had dropped to a level of 102 per cent. over 1913, but fuel had continued to increase, reaching a level of 118 per cent. above 1913.

The occupations under review in the bulletin with reference to wages are as follows: Seven building trades, five metal trades, two printing trades, street railway motormen and conductors, and six classes of steam railway employees.

The department took as its index number for 1913 the figure 100, and on this basis it was discovered that the average increase in hourly wage rates for building trades was 80 per cent. since 1913, while weekly rates had advanced 72 per cent. The average increase in metal trades was 109 per cent. in hourly rates, and 89 per cent. in weekly rates.

In the two printing trades given, the increase in hourly rates appears at 74 per cent. and in weekly rates at 82 per cent. over 1913. Street railway motormen and conductors secured average increases of 94 per cent. in hourly rates and 79 per cent. in weekly rates. In steam railways the increases per day and per mile for the six classes

averaged 86.6 per cent., but it is pointed out that overtime rates for excess hours or mileage have been paid since January, 1918. This means a great increase in the rates as given.

The index number in factory wage scales saw an average increase in common factory labor of 115 per cent. in hourly rates since 1913, and 98 per cent. in weekly rates. In lumbering and sawmilling the average increase in the fifteen samples given appears at 103 per cent. in hourly rates and 91 per cent in weekly rates.

### A VERY FRESH FRESHMAN

("Si Whiffletree-Freshman." Edited and published by Frank Genest, 4286 Sherbrooke St., W., Montreal. \$1. Printed by Canadian Railroader, Ltd.)

"Si Whiffletree—Freshman" is a bucolic sprout who is a student at McGill University and sees college and city things through an aura of the best Hayseed. In letters to his Pa down on the farm at Sim's Corners he translates his sentiments into the official Hayseed language, as recognized and vised by all good-professional humorists.

The Hayseedian outlooks and forms of expression are shot through with tickling Malapropisms that would cause a prim, pernickety person to wonder what had busted up the matriculation sieve and let Si into the august precincts of light and learning, but then, no prim, pernickety person is supposed to read the book, and, in any case, Professor Stephen Leacock in the preface vouches for it that he has met a lot of Si Whiffletrees within the sacred portals.

Si first spread some of his remarkable effusions over the pages of the McGill Daily, the students' paper. The students laughed a great deal over them, and it is even whispered that professorial faces that were supposed to crack if they ever smiled, took awful chances on a crack.

The letters in the paper were edited by Frank Genest, who also edits the new series in book form, with illustrations by G. Tremble of outstanding experiences in the life of Si. Genest admits a certain intimacy with Si.

The editor is to be congratulated on fixing up a book which will have a particular appeal to the risibilities of college students, but will also have an attraction for common mortals, who like to be amused once in a while.

As the book was printed in the Railroader Office, you know that it's a pretty good product of the press.

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## Our Ottawa Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent).

Ottawa.

PARLIAMENT was in session twenty-eight days before it adjourned for the Easter recess. Little legislation of a concrete nature has been enacted. Much of the time of the House of Commons has been taken in the discussion on the question of confidence in the Government. The leader of the Opposition lost no opportunity in driving home his point that the present Government has not the confidence of the people. Hon. W. Mackenzie King has not always been on solid ground in his arguments against the Government, but whether one agrees with his views or not, he has conducted an offensive campaign up to the time the House adjourned. He was successful in the first division of the House in enlisting the support of the Agrarians. This was on the adoption of the Speech from the Throne. The Leader of the Opposition moved a "want of confidence in the Government" as an amendment and in the division the Agrarians voted against the Government.

Just before the Easter recess Sir George Foster moved that the House resolve itself into Committee for Supply to consider Estimates for the Department of Trade and Commerce. Mr. King at once moved an amendment that, subject to the usual reservation respecting confidential documents, all papers, documents, etc., bearing on any branch of the public service, including the Canadian National Railways, be returnable to Parliament on order of the House.

### Want of Confidence.

This the Prime Minister took as a vote of lack of confidence and on the Division, which followed, the Government's majority rose from 25 to 38.

Thus on two occasions the Government has secured a vote of confidence.

The Liberal Opposition has embarrassed the Government on other occasions during the first twenty-eight days. It has compelled the Government to meet its wishes on the question of Supply. Once during the session the Government attempted to proceed with Supply for the Department of Justice before some items for the Department of Agriculture were concluded. Opposition developed from the Liberal benches and the Government, against its wishes, had to continue on Supply for the Department of Agriculture.

### The National Railways.

The statement of the Minister of Railways and Canals, with reference to the National Railways is one of paramount importance. No statement since the Armistice has provoked so much adverse criticism. I have previously stated that the railroad workers of Canada have been

given advance notice that the management of the National Railways purpose reducing wages and readjusting the hours and working conditions.

This statement was made by Hon. Dr. Reid in submitting the annual report of the Canadian National Railways and no debate was permissible. When Hon. D. Mackenzie King introduced his "no confidence" amendment just before the Easter recess the management of the National Railways was under fire. Many of the speakers made statements which prove more conclusively than ever that the question of operation and management of the National Railways should be investigated. Some of the members were making definite charges against the management when the Speaker intervened and ruled such discussion out of order. The Prime Minister made it quite clear that there would be no "political interference" with the National Railways. With this view Hon. Mr. Crerar, the leader of the Agrarians, agreed. The Prime Minister stated that when a resolution of the Hon. A. K. McLean (Halifax), calling for the institution of a Select Standing Committee on Government Railways and shipping was before the House the question would be considered.

The Government is attempting to conclude the session by the end of May to allow the Prime Minister to attend the sessions of the Imperial Conference in London in June. How successful it will be depends entirely on the offensive campaign of the Liberals.

### Appointing Trade Agents.

In answer to a question by Mr. T. A. Vien (Lotbiniere), Sir George Foster stated that the matter of appointing trade agents in the United States had been under consideration before the war and since the Armistice. The Government would probably have some announcement in this regard before the present session of Parliament adjourned.

Hon. T. A. Crerar in his address on the Speech from the Throne stated that Canada had trade agents in every country excepting the United States and urged upon the Government the necessity of appointing trade representatives in the United States with the least possible delay. Sir George Foster now intimated that this will be done.

Before the special committee on Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, Pensions, Insurance, etc., the secretary of the Great War Veterans has made representation for increases in the pensions and allowance of the ex-service men. He has prepared a budget showing that the cost of living has shown no decline for the average man. This budget has not, at the time of writing, been submitted to the Committee but the Secretary informs the writer that it will be presented in the near future.

## OUR LONDON LETTER

# British Labor Condemns the German Indemnity

(From Our London Correspondent).

London.

**B**RITISH Labor is far from agreeing that the Lloyd George and Briand method of searching the pockets of Germany is the right one and, in fact of whatever unpopularity it may incur, has not been afraid to say so.

There is, I should at once explain, no contention that Germany should be allowed to go free from liability to repair the damage she has done, but Labor's argument is that she will never be able to do that if she is left in a permanently crippled condition.

An official manifesto published by the party gives the point of view in plain language.

"Before the war, Germany had no balance of exports over imports, or rather she made "invisible" exports (shipping, banking, capital investments), all of which she has now lost. She imported goods to the

value of £538 million in 1913 and exported £504 millions. The balance on her present trade is even more heavily against her. Her exports were valued in

Ethelbert Pogson

1919 at £94 millions and her imports at £343 millions (even this must be divided by 3 1/4 for a genuine comparison).

"The figures for the first five months of 1920 have been published, and though they show some improvement, there is still a deficit, and not even a distant approach to the volume of pre-war trade. It is already known, though the full figures are not yet available, that for the year 1920, her imports of food alone exceeded the total value of her exports.

#### A Trade Surplus.

"When the Allies demand that this deficit shall instantly be converted into a trade surplus of £100 millions, it is obvious that they are merely playing with fairy gold.

"From the standpoint of foreign trade an indemnity means unpaid exports sent out gratis against no balancing payment in imports. From the standpoint of internal economy it means that the nation which pays the indemnity must, out of taxation, provide the materials, the wages of the workers, and the profits of the capitalists who produce the export goods. Looked at in this way, it becomes even more wildly impossible to imagine how Germany can finance the indemnity.

#### Paying For Reparations.

"The general idea of the revision of the Versailles Treaty should be

to bring it back to a basis of justice, such as the Germans themselves would accept and fulfil without perpetual coercion. They do not dispute their liability for reparation. They ask mainly for revisions of the Treaty which will restore them to their old access to the world markets and raw materials. Given facilities to produce and trade, with some breathing time at the start, they might pay a substantial indemnity to restore the devastated departments of France.

"With consent, the occupation of the Rhine provinces might be promptly ended, with all the cost and friction it entails."

The signing of the trade treaty with Russia has caused great satisfaction in Labor circles here, and it is felt that the Council of Action, although it has never proceeded to drastic measures, has been able to exert a valuable moral influence.

Coming to home matters, coal is still the outstanding question. The miners have drawn up a practical scheme which is being debated between men and the owners as I write.

#### National Coal Board.

It provides for a National Coal Board to govern the distribution and wages and profits. The Board shall absorb all the powers and duties of the present district conciliation boards.

The Boards shall consist of 52 members, 26 appointed by the owners.

There shall be a new standard wage for each class of workman, to be called the 1921 standard. The standard shall incorporate the existing district percentages, and shall involve a change in actual wages.

The War and Sankey wages and any other flat rate advances in existence prior to March 31, 1921, shall be combined into a flat rate to be added to the standard wage.

This flat rate addition shall be liable to fluctuation by advances or reductions, according to the arrangement below.

The portion of the War Wage payable for time lost through circumstances over which the men have no control shall not be included in the flat rate addition, but shall be continued in accordance with the War Wage Agreement of September 17, 1917.

The 1921 standard wage shall be reckoned as the principal element of the cost of production, and be payable before any profit is allocated to the owners (arrears of profits to be cumulative).

A minimum profit for the owners is fixed at one-tenth of the aggregate amount paid in wages at the standard rate.

When the balance available is not enough to meet that minimum profit

the deficit shall accumulate to be recouped in later periods.

At any period at which the owners' minimum profits have not been met the miners shall not make application for advances in wages.

Any surplus above the prime costs of standard wages and minimum profits shall be distributed in the proportion of nine-tenth to the miners and one-tenth to the owners.

#### National Profits Pool.

The owners shall establish a National Profits Pool in order to maintain production at all existing collieries.

Owners on their side say—

They will negotiate by districts only.

They will not get up a pool.

They want 17 per cent. profits as against the 10 per cent. the miners speak of.

But, after these bases are fixed they will forego any additional profits until the industry is on an economic basis.

As wages cuts continue to be threatened the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress has taken the matter up.

It has decided against the suggestion that a national conference should be called to consider the wages reduction movement.

The Committee considers that a more practical policy is to convene sectional or group conferences of unions which have interests more or less in common.

The object of the conferences will be to promote a common understanding on policy in the various groups of industries.

The decision of the Parliamentary Committee reflects the opinion of the majority of trade union leaders that any attempt to organize resistance to wages reductions in the form of general strike action end disastrously in existing circumstances.

The procedure favored by some officials is on the lines of conferences with employers, and reference of disputed questions to the Industrial Court or other arbitration bodies.

—Ethelbert Pogson.



## "I Cannot Go"

**B**ILIOUS headache spoils many an expected enjoyment.

When the condition of the liver is neglected, biliaryness seems to become chronic and recurs every two or three weeks, with severe sick headaches.

Why not get right after this trouble and end it by using Dr. Chase's Kidney-Liver Pills to restore the health and activity of the liver.

Constipation, indigestion, backache, headache, biliaryness and kidney derangements soon disappear with the use of this well-known medicine.

One pill a dose, 25 cts. a box, all dealers, in Edmaston, Bates & Co., Ltd., Toronto.

## Dr. Chase's Kidney-Liver Pills

#### RAILWAY FARE.

"Mister," said the countryman at the box office, "I want my money back. "The bill of fare here says there will be a lapse of two months between the second and third acts, an' I'll be darned if I'll pay my railway fare to come back here for the last act.

## FIVE ROSES FLOUR

FOR BREADS - CAKES - PUDDINGS - PASTRIES



Crisp, Crackling  
**COOKIES**  
and a glass of  
milk—taste the  
delicious blend  
of flavors.

## SIDE LINES

(By KENNEDY CRONE).

**B**ELIEVING that "there is society where none intrudes," as Byron has it, especially if the isolation is amongst the natural things of earth and sky, I welcome the chance, rarely offering, for such exclusive society. An opportunity came on Easter Sunday. From morning until night I was alone in the great assembly of early spring in the country.

The last human I saw was Jake, the farmer-carter, who had met the morning train in the hope of picking up passengers.

"Hullo," said Jake. "Back again? Drive ye up, hey?"

"No, Jake," said I; "I'm walking." "Roads is bad. Lots o' mud."

"I don't mind mud."

"An' it might rain."

"I like rain."

"But you ain't got no umberel-ler."

"I'll dry again. So long, Jake."

"Well, I'll be stewed! You city folk get funnier every year. Reg'ler comics! I suppose it's the war. Everything's the war. So long; but don't blame me if ye git all sloshed up with mud or catch the pewmny!"

When I got to the Castle, which is a combination of Early Tudor, Scottish Baronial, Old Kentucky, Bleeding Heart Alley and other styles, ancient, modern and to come, costing no less than \$87.20 (I made records for the future historian, though, possibly, the squirrels have eaten them) I saw that the southwest gable, which is the more ancient part of the Castle, and is skirted by a moat (which was intended to be a flower-bed, but insisted on being a moat) had sunk several inches during the winter. I had to jack the gable up with a crowbar and put some shingles beneath it. Otherwise the structure was in fair order.

Friends think it is a very striking piece of architecture. One said it almost paralyzed him. It is ultra-modern in respect to ventilation. Air comes in everywhere and goes out everywhere. A fresh-air crank who had proposed to sleep in a hammock outside the house one night last summer, changed his mind. He said there was more air inside. A poet person said he rather liked the joyful sunbeam stealing through the window in the morning, but thought it overdone to have a score of sunbeams sneaking through the walls at the same time, and another half dozen trying to nose up through the floor. The more you do for poets the less they appreciate you.

I suppose I ought to say that the Castle has wormed its way into my heart; all the good writers say the good things worm their way into the heart. Personally I have never seen the worming process in operation, and I don't like worms. I certainly would not fancy the Castle worming itself into me; it has too many

splinters about it and a lot of rusty nails that would be mighty uncomfortable. But I will say that I have some affection for the Castle, not so much for what it looks like as for where it is, in a quiet, natural place, and for providing circumstances of eating and sleeping without which an ordinary city creature like myself would not be able to appreciate anything for long. When I am a little less poor I may add a few trimmings to it and pour some paint over it. Meanwhile it is quite useful as it is.

It is pivot for a lot of small but important excursions, bringing renewal of acquaintance with many non-human friends of lakeshore, field and wood. On Sunday I had a fine time amongst these old friends, which were not all dressed up for Easter but just beginning to think of dressing up for spring. Among them, under an unusually warm sun for the time of year, with none of the usual distractions and disturbances of the city, so that one could ponder with a sort of detached air, thoughts were inspired of the microscopic significance of man in the scheme of things and his infinitesimal life-tick in the measure of time, of the greatness of the scheme, of the masks, pettinesses, futilities and narrownesses of many human interests and relations, of the fine loves that never flamed and the good deeds that were never done, of the barbarities of civilization, of the intricacy and variety of religions to muddle simple souls, of the possibilities of "over there" and the manifold fears and exaltations, conjectures and assertions, concerning them.

Do not think that this was all gloomy and discouraging, as you might assume from the worded summary which is so inadequate. I found great interest and great hope threaded through it, some real amusement, some steady influence, and a batch of lessons impressed again for guidance — keep to the simple fundamentals, for instance, and let the frills and the fads go by; scrap the proverb about wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, for really there is only confusion; know thyself, "and this, above all, to thine own self be true"; when the brain is overloaded, go into the places that God made and have a talk with a tree or a star.

Labor's definition of collective bargaining was brought before the Manitoba Legislature by G. A. Tanner, who moved the second reading of a bill to amend the Industrial Conditions Act. His definition was: "Employees shall have the right to bargain with their employers collectively through the organizations of the employees or through the chosen representatives of such organizations."

### PURCHASING POWER LESS THAN PRICE.

(Vancouver Sun.)

In another column we reproduce a copy of the cost sheet of the Pacific Mills, Limited, Vancouver, showing that the total cost of manufacturing a ton of newsprint in British Columbia in \$40.83. A handsome profit added to this would allow it to be sold for \$50.

Twenty thousand members of various labor unions in B. C. subscribers to their own paper, the Federationist, have been struggling along from week to week, taking up collections, making assessments and, in various ways, subscribing their good, hard-earned money to pay British Columbia paper manufacturers at the rate of \$197 per ton for paper.

The only explanation of why some business men do such stupid things as this is that wherever monopoly

exists there is always danger of losing perspective and the common touch. Increase after increase is piled on; one advantage after another is taken, without regard to the other fellow's feelings, until finally the load becomes unbearable.

What have the wage-earners of this province ever done to justify the Power River Company charging them 300 per cent. profit on their paper supply? Why should the company try to throttle their newspaper, the Federationist? This same condition applies in the case of the Veterans' Weekly.

The people of British Columbia have given paper manufacturers the right and opportunity to invest their money and make handsome profits out of our water power and timber.

But after availing themselves of all these privileges, they certainly cannot claim the right to practice plunder and extortion upon our citizens, as they are now doing.

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## Tonnage Output of the Coal Miner

(By ETHELBERT STEWART, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics).

**A**VERAGE production per man per day expressed in tonnage of coal is too commonly presented in statistical statements without any explanation of its meaning, significance, or lack of significance. One prolific cause of the general dissatisfaction of coal workers in England and the United States is the assertion that output per man is decreasing in the mines, with the inference that coal miners are progressively inefficient from year to year, and the presentation and use of figures to prove this assertion.

It must be borne in mind that in bituminous coal mining the actual coal miner is always a pieceworker, a tonnage man, paid on his tonnage output.

When the statement is made that certain miners in a given mine earn \$40 per week on a 75 cent rate, this means that such miners produce 53.3 tons each per week of 6 days or practically 9 tons each per day.

But when the further statement is made that the average output per man has decreased from 3.7 to 3.2 tons per day it refers to a condition which is not within the control of the miner.

### The Daily Average.

The method of arriving at the average output per man per day is to divide the total production by the total number of employees, both underground and aboveground, and this by the total days in operation (tipple time), to get the daily average.

To say that the mines of Illinois, for example, average 238 days worked in 1918 does not mean that all of the mine workers could have averaged 238 days' work in that year.

The "days worked" as computed represent the maximum of possibility for any part of the production labor force, and not the actual working time for any definite part of the employees.

The days in which there was any "tipple time," or in other words any coal hoisted, are commonly reported as fully days; it does not mean a full day's work for all employees.

For example: Let us suppose a mine with a rated capacity of 10 cars per day.

On Monday morning there are seen to be 5 empty cars on the track; the mine whistle blows and all employees report for work; half of the miners may go down and work all day or all may work a half a day; in any event there is but a half day's production, a half-day's earnings for all employees on a "full-time" basis.

Tuesday morning 10 cars are on the siding; all employees put in a full day's work; the cars are quickly filled, and the miners and loaders fill all or most of the "pit cars," leaving them for a starter in the morning.

Wednesday morning 2 cars are on the siding. The mine superintendent decides that there is a sufficient

quantity of mined coal in the "pit cars" to load these 2 cars, and that no miners need go down. The machinery of the mine starts, however, and such men go down as will enable the operator to raise the necessary coal.

There is "tipple time" to the extent of loading two railroad cars, hence the mine is reported as "in operation."

Here we have three days upon each of which there is active "tipple time," hence a report of three days' operation.

On one of the days the miners work all day, on one they do not work at all, and on the other they work only half day or half force all day; in other words, three days are reported, with only one and one-half days' actual full-time employment or production.

### The Working Time.

This is neither an extreme nor an unusual case, and is cited to illustrate the essential fact that the statistics of time worked in coal mines shows the greatest length of time any proportion of the mine workers could have worked; they do not even indicate what proportion of the miners worked less than that time or any other definite time.

The working time as reported in the statistics is based upon the machinery of the coal shaft, not upon the men.

This is true of the coal production returns from all countries of the world.

A considerable per cent. of the actual miners are frequently employed driving entries and doing yardage and other work that should be charged either to maintenance or new development.

### Nobody Knows.

No figures are available which will show the actual one-man days' work performed by bona-fide miners in the bona-fide shipping mines, hence actual average daily production per miner is unknown and unknowable in the present condition of record keeping.

Output may be increasing or decreasing; nobody knows.

What is known is that the proportion of underground non-miners and above-ground men to actual miners is increasing, and the average output per employee is statistically decreased by increasing the number of non-miners.

This is true of England as well as of the United States.

In the coal mines of Silesia the number of women working underground, and pushing pit cars have increased some 300 per cent.; and as the tonnage is admittedly divided by the "population of the mine," there is a corresponding decrease in per capita output per day regardless of the work of the actual miners.

### Always Difficult Work.

As to the increase in underground men, this may be necessary owing to the receding of working face from bottom of the shaft and

the increased difficulty in getting the coal out after the actual miner has performed his work.

There are many mines in Indiana and Ohio worked back 2 to 3 miles from the bottom of the shaft.

This necessitates more track-laying, track repairing, and doubtless much additional underground labor of other kinds.

As other labor is introduced, of course the average output per man per day is reduced without any relation whatever to the efficiency of the miner.

As the coal miner is a pieceworker each additional miner must mean more coal, for the miner must get out tonnage or he earns no money.

The more miners, therefore, the more coal; but this is not true of the other labor in and around the mines.

This is all day labor, and the more there is of it the more is added to cost of production and the more is decreased the average tonnage per day per employee, under the present statistical methods.

### The Real Producers.

It can not be said too often that these statistics of production per man per day in the bituminous-coal industry are ascertained by dividing the total tonnage by the total employees both under and above ground, and then dividing this quotient by the average number of days the mines run (tipple time).

The miners produce the tonnage, but the managers regulate the number by which this is divided.

The figure as to the tons produced per man per day is therefore merely a matter of statistical manipulation.

### MONTREAL PRESS CLUB FIND HOME

Splendid Quarters Procured at 406 Phillips Place.

The newly formed Montreal Press Club will have a permanent home in future at 406 Phillips Place, a fine, substantially built three-story brick and stone building with 14 exceedingly large and handsome rooms. An option on the premises was greatly desired, but this could not be obtained, and the club had to content itself with a two-year lease at a monthly rental of \$216, which was signed on Saturday last.

The building is in every respect admirably adapted for its purpose. Centrally situated, it is within easy reach of all the newspaper offices of the town and the accommodation is ample, it is thought, for all future purposes. The basement contains a furnace room, storage room, a large kitchen, dressing and toilet rooms. On the first floor is a large reception hall, and dining rooms which are easily convertible into a meeting hall for the entertainment of visitors, while the second storey is given over to five rooms in combinations, which can be converted at will into two or three rooms, as desired. These will be used as lounging, reading, and writing rooms, and typewriting machines will be installed for the convenience of members wishing to write copy.

### Large Rooms.

The third floor comprises four large rooms where meals and light refreshments will be served, and where members can entertain parties of friends. Finally there is a very large attic which is to be converted into a dance floor and which will be the scene, it is hoped, of many enjoyable little functions in the future. A really beautiful room with quaint niches which are to be fitted with leaded glass and illuminated, is to be decorated in Bohemian and Latin style, and will be one of the club's greatest attractions. There is also a large verandah. The building is now in the hands of the painters and an attractive scheme of decoration is being planned. The exterior of the building is to be improved by the addition of a wrought iron and glass marquee over the entrance surmounted by a crest, designs for which are being submitted by Messrs. Birks. The motto will probably be in Latin.

The club will provide a long-felt want for the journalistic fraternity which has long recognized the need for a central meeting place where members could gather for social intercourse, or to write copy, and above all at which distinguished visitors could be invited to meet the press. Membership is open to men and women, and a first-class chef will be employed to cater for meals.

The Mond Nickel Company, Sudbury, Ont., put in effect a reduction of five cents an hour in wages throughout its entire operations during the week.

Dominion Coal Company has informed the United Mine Workers Union that the company can only market 100,000 tons of coal a month, so the output will have to be adjusted accordingly, which mean that Glace Bay collieries will operate on a one-third time basis.

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# Labor Espionage in the United States

ESPIONAGE in industry is not an institution which is agreeable to contemplate. It is become quite general in the United States and is rapidly being instituted in Canada.

It has been developing inconspicuously these many years, says Sidney Howard in the *New Republic*.

Recent labor disputes show that it can no longer be considered in terms of locality; it seems to have become a factor in industry as a whole. He continues:

"Given an employer suddenly face to face with the probability of labor trouble in his plant, ignorant of the character and point of view of his employees, with no access to their plans, very fearful of their organizations. The result is almost inevitable panic and the labor spy exists to exploit this panic. He capitalizes the employer's ignorance and prejudice and enters the plant specifically to identify the leaders of the labor organization, to propagandize against them and blacklist them and to disrupt and corrupt their union.

"He is under cover, disguised as a worker, hired to betray the workers' cause. Espionage in industry is not a creditable institution, but it seems to go on very generally.

"The labor press of the last few years is filled with the records of spies discovered in unions and expelled from them.

## A Dirty Business.

"In December ten important officials of the labor unions of Akron, Ohio, were exposed as confessed and convicted spies of the Corporations Auxiliary Company, a concern whose business is the administration of industrial espionage. Last spring two similar corporations entered the courts of Philadelphia and left there a complete (and unpublished) record of their proceedings in the employ of the textile manufacturers of Philadelphia.

"It is strange that this business should have gained such a hold. It is strange that the employer should not reasonably suspect its effect. Though he propose only to relieve immediate labor difficulties by the destruction of a particular union, he may well accomplish very different ends.

"This labor spy, often unknown to the very employer who retains him through his agency, is in a position of immense strength. There is no power to hold him to truth telling.

"The employer who depends upon espionage rather than upon his own eyes is, in great measure, at the mercy of his spy. The very nature of the spy's business makes it necessary for him to do either of two things. He may falsify his reports or create, through his own influence upon the workers, a basis upon which to report the truth.

"Wherefore we need not be surprised to find situations prearranged

in the plant of a prospective client, strikes prolonged rather than broken, rioters furnished by espionage agencies along with strike breakers, trouble fostered where peace has been.

## Making Trouble.

"Briefly, to retain a spy is to set, between employer and employee, a middleman whose business it is to stimulate the prejudice of the one against the right of the other, whose very livelihood depends upon the existence and continuance of trouble, whether real, imaginary or provoked. Industrial espionage is a curious substitute for industrial relations. In American industry it is an amazingly general and characteristic substitute and the evidence of its work is unbelievable and cannot be denied.

"It is most amazing of all that employers should have thought it profitable. But the scale of organization of industrial espionage stifles any doubt of its scope. Only a tremendous clientele can justify it. It operates through the secret service departments of great corporations; the railroads, the United States Steel Corporation, the Western Union Telegraph Company and like corporations. Strike insurance companies maintain spy services.

"And, finally, a dozen vast detective organizations with branch offices in every manufacturing centre, together with hundreds of smaller local agencies, devote themselves exclusively to training and furnishing industrial spies, agents, provocateurs, and strike breakers.

"It would be interesting to know how many men the business employs. One can only guess at thousands."

## THE WORKERS' RIGHTS.

Everywhere the workers have determined to secure, and are in the act of securing, a better kind of life for themselves. It is not that they desire simply more money than they have had before, though an adequate wage is naturally a part of their demand. But beyond this they are asking—and obtaining—the good things of life—learning, music, art and the like shall no longer be the monopoly of a small section of the people. They ask, and they do well to ask, that they shall have their share of these things. — Viscount Haldane.

## THOSE JUMPERS.

Some one told a good story and the inevitable better one followed. "We had a cat at home," related the quiet man in the corner, "which was fond of playing with the wife's ball of yarn. One day the cat swallowed it, and some months later, when kittens were born, they were all wearing jumpers."



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## Aims of the Professional Workers

(From Our Own Correspondent).

Glasgow.

I HAVE for some time been giving in these columns a fair indication of the progress made in Scotland by the professional workers towards combination to protect their own interests in these critical days. I am this week prompted to ask the question as to what are to be the functions of these new organizations springing into life on every side. There is no denying the fact that they have a direct relation to the intimate questions of pay and working conditions. Their fundamental idea is the idea of self-preservation. But they go farther than that. Serious as are the grievances of the middle-class worker, he is not of the type that organizes upon grievances. There has never been a time when such grievances did not exist, yet organization has been long in coming.

### Based on Hostility.

Attempts at organization of course there were, but they were based upon the assumption of an innate hostility between worker and employer, and could not appeal to men who completely rejected this assumption. Because of our wide disparity of commercial interests, and our still wider divergence of pay, we have been a collection of warring atoms, not prone to organization.



James Gibson

We were the poor relations of Capital, resting in a muteness and passivity that degenerated into impotence. But the times have changed.

The salariat no longer dreams of a progress from Log Cabin to White House. The conditions produced by the war, by joining economic pressure to a growing sense of responsibility, have given life and direction to our movement. The primary need is the organization of the moderate forces of the country. Here lies the solution of the problem.

### Changes in Problem.

With the organization of the salariat the whole labor problem imperceptibly changed. The new organization was inseparably associated with the steadily growing demand for the democratic control of industry. As it proceeded, manual labor not only evinced the keenest interest in our movement, but wished to sweep us into its own current. In the organization of the Salariat the casting vote in the industrial situation was being prepared. But the salariat itself was blind to the significance of this fact. Only the salariat itself was unconscious of its value. Passivity passes into self-abnegation. Hitherto em-

ployers had been prone to regard their administrative staffs as industrial deadheads.

### The Necessary Evil.

The clerk was a non-producer, a necessary evil. He was the cross all employers must bear; fortunately such workers could be obtained for two a penny. He was unorganized, and ignorant of the most elementary industrial problems; often, indeed, not conscious that such problems existed. Manual labor also held the same view, and with complete conviction. It was the likes of him that kept the likes of us; we were the ad infinitum flea biting the back of the one and only worker.

It is not a little strange that the organization of such a negligible quantity should provide so keen an interest. The truth is that without his own volition the clerical worker is being thrust into a position of the highest strategical importance. Yet at the very outset there is the danger of his emulating others in their mistakes. Although the salariat believes that its own interests coincide with the interests of the employer, yet the reaction following the employers' misguided policy has led the salariat to trifle with dangerous theories.

Irritation—such is human nature—drives out reason; yet unless the salariat frankly faces the facts the movement will lose its true driving force; the organized protest of the middle-class workers against the materialism of the age. The merits of an enlightened capitalism are not to be obscured by a prejudice born of ignorance. This ignorance and prejudice is the cause of class war. Let employers and workers alike face the facts boldly, and strive for some common ground where the capitalist and the worker join in a relation of real partnership.

### Purging the Old System.

At the moment we see a world where too many men, employers and workers alike, clamor for their rights and forget their duties. The time has come for the middle-class worker to awaken to his duties and responsibilities. These duties cannot be discharged by blindly taking sides; but by an intelligent realization of the true position and its possibilities. The urgent need of society to-day is a new perspective. We are told that the old system is dead. Some employers ardently believe in its resurrection; some workers seek to replace it by disastrous experiments. We are offered the alternative of revolution or reaction. This the alternative of unsound warp or unsound woof; in either case the fabric is spoiled. But the old system is not dead; there is emerging from it, not the fanciful dream of the theorist but a brighter semblance of itself, the old system purged of its defects.

## GOOD THINGS ARE MADE TO BE EATEN Montreal Dairy Company Limited

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A disturbing feature just now is that the slump in business has provoked dismissals which, however expedient they may be in a purely commercial view, are indefensible upon grounds either of justice or morality. We do not refer to the dismissal of men who were frankly engaged as temporary men but of men presumed to be upon the permanent staff. That such a presumption is valid is shown partly by the length of service of the discharged men and partly by the fact that in a number of instances the men concerned worked unconsciously long hours during the recent boom with no extra renumeration beyond a paltry allowance for tea money. Surely there is an important point of commercial honesty involved. If these were temporary men why were they not paid for this vast amount of overtime? If they were on the permanent staff why are they discharged at the first signs of slump? Overtime without payment is not a good thing; its sole justification is the assumption that the extra work of busy days is balanced by the lesser work in times of slackness.

There are apparently some firms which do not recognize that the long

hours of unpaid overtime constitute a debt that must not be repudiated. Many firms are descending to these methods. Surely no stronger reason could be advanced for the setting up of a Joint Committee.

The brain workers of the country are realizing more than ever the necessity for a strong combination to protect their interests. This is spreading with great rapidity and ere long will be a factor to be reckoned with in laying down the new conditions of life for which all classes are clamoring.

—James Gibson.

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